829 The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

C. Work and Leisure

461 In traditional China, leisure was seen as a time for replenishment of bodily and psychic energy; leisure was necessary if one were not to suffer depletion of vital forces.[48] Abundant leisure was also important evidence of membership in the favored social class. In Communist China, work and vigorous activity are given a high value; hard work and ceaseless struggle are characteristic of all the "models" held up before the people in all the propaganda media. The ceaseless activity of the top leaders is meant to set a pattern for those who follow them. Leisure as a contemplative bodily replenishment is devaluated, and active sports which develop competitive spirit are being promoted. Leisure as a mark of high status has disappeared.

D. Authority and the Individual

156 829 The father's relation to his sons was the model for the exercise of authority in traditional China. Ideally, the father was to be firm and aloof, seeing to it rather impersonally that his children were well cared for and given proper instruction.

48. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

204 country under the leadership of the Communist
208 Party of China. In treating news involving non-Communist countries, the newspapers convey to the readers that the masses of the capitalist system is on its way to destruction, and that present world tensions are all caused by capitalist warmongers, especially those in the United States. After the outbreak of the war in Korea, the anti-American campaign was played up by the press, obviously for the purpose of creating psychological tension in the minds of the Chinese people so that they might be called upon to make greater contributions and sacrifices for the attainment of the ambitious goals set by the region. More recently, the press has been preoccupied with the problem of criticizing and eliminating "bourgeois ideologies" from the minds of the people, especially the intelligentsia.

204 The most important agitation work done by
208 the newspapers concerns the acceleration of
461 production. This is achieved by summarizing and disseminating information about the most successful economic enterprises and farms and the methods and techniques of "advanced" workers and farmers; by explaining to workers and farmers the meaning of the economic measures taken by the Party and government; by bringing to the attention of the population the economic development of the nation; by glorifying the contributions of outstanding individual workers and farmers; by discussing ways and means for the solution of the difficulties facing the country

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208 in its economic construction; and by exhorting
461 the people to make even greater efforts.

D. The Press as a Medium of Public Information

204 Although the press is primarily used to conduct propaganda and agitation, it also contains a large amount of straightforward information on public affairs. As mentioned in another connection, newspapers in this region, as in Communist China as a whole, usually print the text of some important party or government decision and the text of some responsible official's report on the activities of his agency. This is particularly true in the case of the People's Daily, which serves as an official gazette of the Central People's Government. The press also features announcements concerning the commencement of some campaign, the completion of a water conservation project, or the beginning of the construction of a highway project.

True, as indicated earlier, the newspapers do not limit themselves to publishing the texts of important decisions and announcements. They seek to influence the formation of political attitudes; and for this reason they often accompany such informational material with articles to explain and justify the decisions or activities of the Party or government. But if the reader is both judicious and clever in distinguishing between factual presentation of news and efforts of political propaganda, he will still be able to learn from the Communist newspapers what the

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

466 461 establish night schools and "cultural centers" the workers were too busy to make use of them. Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

464 Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or working on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

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39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

464 employment relief in Peking: (1) all of the workers in factories, mines, and shops employing more than ten persons shall contribute one per cent of their wages to a relief fund; (2) those who receive the benefit of the relief fund shall pay back one per cent of the total amount received after return to work; (3) unemployed workers who receive relief are obliged to work for the government and continue their political education. Under the last regulation, many unemployed workers in Peking had been drafted for municipal construction projects.[41]

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND CHINESE LABOR

461 185 After the initiation of the First Five-year Plan in 1953, the Communists announced that all manpower and material must be utilized to increase production in order to complete the industrialization of China, and that the improvement of the living standard must depend upon the development of production; therefore, the Chinese people, especially the industrial workers, must strive for this goal in a "spirit of bitter struggle."[42]

According to the plan, China's total industrial output is scheduled to be increased by 98.3 per cent during the period of the first Five-year Plan, ending 1957. In April 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive calling for a renewal of the labor emulation drive,

41. Worker's Daily, Feb. 17, 1950, p. 1.
42. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 5.

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which was to be expanded from publicly-owned enterprises to all sections of the Communist economy.

For example, in Shih-chi ng-shan industrial district of the Peking suburbs in 1954, labor emulation was extended to include the families of workers. Urban street offices in this area forced families to persuade their husbands and sons to forfeit their annual New Year's vacation and remain at work. In the Chien-ts'ao-p'ing industrial and mining district of Taiyuan, Shansi Province, urban street offices organized 777 family members to support those workers who had agreed to do additional factory work during 1954.[43] On the whole, the Communists have overlooked no opportunity to increase labor productivity since the announcement of the first Five-year Plan.

Upon reviewing the result of the first six months of the Five-year Plan, the Communists were alarmed to discover that production in the steel industry and in the mines was most unsatisfactory. Some 33 per cent of the enterprises had failed to fulfill production goals assigned to them. Light industry also lagged, with an estimated 26.5 per cent of the production goals fulfilled.[44]

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43. People's Daily, April 9, 1955; Enlightenment Daily, April 24, 1955.

44. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 20, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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The Communists attributed the crux of the failure to the lack of discipline among the workers and the failure of management to assume its share of responsibility. The regime reported that state and municipal enterprises in Peking had an average rate of absenteeism of 10 per cent. In the first quarter of 1953, the city's publicly owned enterprises reported a loss of 44,500 workdays, at least one-third of which were not due to illness or other legitimate reasons. In one coal mine in the western suburbs, the attendance in one month was down to 76 per cent.[45] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a directive concerning labor discipline in July 1953, and the Government Administration Council promulgated "Regulations on the Conduct of Labor in State-operated Enterprises" in May 1954. The Ministry of Heavy Indsutry ordered factories and mines to institute a "responsibility system" in August 1953 to make certain that workers and management knew exactly what was required of them.

The Communists have not admitted that the cause of the incipient failure of the Five-year Plan is the lack of skilled labor in present-day China. According to an estimate made by Cheng Chu-yüan, the Communists will need 2,500,000 skilled workers to carry out the tasks proposed in the Five-year Plan, and at present possess

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45. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, August 6, 1953, pp. 162-63.

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185 no more than 600,000 reasonably skilled workers.[46]

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46. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Wu-nien Chi-hua P"ou-hsi [Analysis of the Five-year Plan of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1955, pp. 317-38.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

283 comes) more than 25 per cent of all the females and more than 38 per cent of the females over 14 yars of age were spinning. Forty-five per cent of all the females in that group of families were doing some home industry. In the entire group of families 52 per cent of the working females were spinning and it seems probable that in the wealthier families the proportion would be even higher as the women would be less apt to do the heavier work of other occupations.

283 461 It was estimated that, when working, just over one-quarter of the spinners worked less than four hours per day, just under 50 per cent worked from four to eight hours, and just under a quarter worked over eight hours a day. It was not possible to estimate the total number of days worked by the entire group, but in one village the spinners estimated that the days when they did some spinning averaged 101 days per spinner per year. Four spinners said they worked at least 250 days per year. About one-third estimated their time between 50 and 100 days, another third between 100 and 150 days. For some it was full time work. Others worked only occasionally during the winter months. The estimated spinning time averaged five hours per worker per day. The total output was 7,340 catties or just over 23 catties per spinner. As the average price for that village was 50 cents per catty, the average spinner produced thread worth $11.60 and earned a profit of some $2.30 per year. From the time and production figures it appears that the average worker processed just under one-half a catty of thread in a 10 hour day. The average gain to the worker on that amount of thread was five cents.

283 The locally spun thread was largely used for weaving so after spinning it was reeled into skeins, then washed, sometimes dyed, starched, and dried. The thread was then wound onto shuttle bobbins, or, if it was to be used for warp, onto other bobbins that were placed on the upright spindles of a wooden "bed" so that some 360 threads could be drawn off together for the warp of the local looms. If the thread was dyed the charge was two cents per catty.

Cotton Weaving

286 Cotton cloth weaving was reported by 378 villages, 83 per cent. The weaving families numbered 13,385, 20 per cent, and the weavers 39,121, just under 10 per cent of the village population.

The average number of weaving families per weaving village was 35.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

PREFACE

A study of Chinese labour should properly begin with a general survey of the number, wage scales, working hours and standards of living of labourers. These are some of the fundamental facts urgently needed in this country. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable for conducting a survey of this kind when this Department first commenced its operations some two years ago. The country was then divided into a number of administrative areas under various militarist leaders and it was extremely difficult to obtain permission from them for any kind of serious study of labour. Except in districts under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government where a liberal policy toward labour was pursued, labour unions were all banned and any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both. There was no governmental department from which information regarding labour could be sought, as none kept any full record of it. And it was equally futile to approach the proprietors or managers of factories who usually were reticent on the subject of labour, except when they complained of difficulties in their dealings with workers. In fact, labour was then a tabooed subject. Even a strictly theoretical discussion of it was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise.

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000 with a view to getting some extra pay.

461 In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

465 124

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

166 464 Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

466 All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,